/8 cont./

Birth and death of the first-born. The father must pay the 951 expenses of pregnancy and delivery, as well as those occasioned by the celebration of the birth of his first child, and he is expected to offer a special feast at his own expense at the place where the birth occurred. The news of the birth of the child spreads rapidly and draws relatives and friends from all parts. At midday the dance, which lasts all night, begins, in which the [534] single women and all the men take part. The rhythm is supplied [535] by a double-headed drum made of deer or goat hide. The dancing takes place within a large circle, around the edges of which the couples participating and the curious onlookers gather. The women attend in their finest dresses without forgetting their ornaments (necklaces, bracelets, and anklets) and wear wound round the head a handkerchief, which falls over the shoulder, and have their faces very carefully painted. The men wear broad belts wonderfully embroidered and feather headpieces.

[273] The father must supply his guests with Guajiro rum or with smuggled foreign liquor. Also chicha (made from chewed corn) [541] is prepared and is served liberally. Apart from the dancing there may be horse racing, if the people are rich, and for this they bring their finest animals. At dawn the next day cattle, if the father is rich, and goats are slaughtered, which are prepared and divided among the participants according to their importance in the family, the group, and the total collectivity in general. All the participants return to their homes by sunrise.

In addition to the father, the maternal and paternal relatives [48] join in the celebration of the birth, bringing gifts for the newly born. The father also makes him a present of heads of livestock, [428] which constitute almost the only inheritance he will get during his lifetime, as it is the nephews of the father, (sons of his sister) who inherit the capital and not the sons, according to law, when the marriage has been carried out according to the Guajiro rite.

85/ The paternal grandfather also shows his recognition and 43/ generosity toward his grandson. If he owns livestock, he is 1405 obliged to give a pair of each -- horses, burros, cows, goats,

/196 cont./

a peculiar characteristic of the Guajiro Indian. They steal from the time they are children, since the scarcity of food in La Guajira makes the child steal food from his younger brother, from his relatives, and from outsiders, and he eats it immediately or takes it away and hides it in the woods to use when it is possible and convenient to his need.

This means that they are punished when they steal food from their own homes and praised when they steal it from outsiders. Even men frequently steal from the sown fields at night, and there is hardly a stock breeder who does not have to exercise scrupulous vigilance over his livestock day and night to avoid being the victim of thieves. At night the livestock must be shut up in well-fenced corrals, annexed to the houses, but even so they are frequently stolen. During the day the flocks are never allowed to pasture without someone looking after them. The Guajiro knows and can distinguish from others the tracks of his animals, which permits him to track them over long distances, helped by the sandy soil, until he finds where they are. The tracker follows the thief until he finds him, and if he discovers him with the stolen animal it is not unusual for him to kill him. If he knows who the thief is, he goes at once to this man's closest relatives, demanding indemnity, which they will certainly pay, because if they do not, the wronged man will take advantage of any opportunity to recuperate his loss and damages by his own hand.

When they wish to know who the robber is, they frequently have recourse to the diviner, who takes a cigarette, a wand, or a firebrand, according to his speciality, and lights it. In the wisps of smoke and in the way the flame consumes the burning article, he believes that he can find, after long observation, the thief and the place where the stolen thing can be found. /197/

When they recover an important object, the family that had lost it give a small feast in which an animal is slaughtered to divide among attending friends. chicha and rum are drunk, and a drum is beaten with the monotonous, prolonged rhythm to which they dance the chicha maya for several nights.

[138 cont.]

unchanged, composed by some Indian, namely by an inhabitant from the Jarara district -- which is the cradle of their poetry and their music, according to the statements of these same natives. They adapt the verbal part of the play to this music as the representation progresses.

The Dance of the Kid is celebrated when the rains arrive, when the ahuyamas, the watermelons, and the kidney beans are growing. It is practically a ceremonial rite by which they celebrate the beginning of the rains and the appearance of fruit. At this dance, which is celebrated at night and during consecutive weeks and even months, whoever wishes to do so joins in, since the invitation consists of the beat of the drum, a characteristic of these occasions.

There are two special dances which are performed in the following way: In the first, each Indian moves united with a female partner, in line one behind the other, and holding each other by the waist, they walk in the direction taken by the leading couple. The song which may go like this begins: "Lend me your partner so I may travel with her." They then make a turn. On doing this, the first Indian takes the partner of the second, and so on successively down the line. The dance continues with these turns and progresses forward until the first pair are reunited.

In the other dance each man takes a partner, an unmarried woman as a general rule. They take hold of hands, doing the same with the other couples that join in the dance. Once hands are grasped, they all walk in line but neither forward nor backward but to right and left. Then, hands still grasped, they run in circles, having the first in the line as the axis, until they fall to the ground impelled by the speed their racing around has given them. then they rise and start the dance over again.

The dance begins at about six in the afternoon and lasts until midnight. At this hour all the participants return to their homes but come back again on the following and every succeeding night until the cycle of the beginning of the rains, the collecting of the crops, or the ripening of the fruit has been fulfilled. [139]

The ceremony we have been describing has three special

[128 cont.]

746 requirement being the girl's consent; and she, in spite of the
786 loss of her virginity, in spite of her illegal maternity, does not descend in status nor bring into her community a new being inferior in standing in any way to the others. [129]

This in large part explains the large attendance of youths of both sexes at the ceremony of the Dance of the Kid, which pleases the patron who sponsors the rite because it gives a greater solemnity to the rite and in that way aids in the propitiation of the rains, and, in consequence, the harvests will be of good quality and more abundant.

535 d) A proof that these ceremonies break away from the
537 sexual order established in the community is the frequent rep-
746 resentation of the sexual act of animals combined with other
87 dramatizations which we shall study later. Here are some examples.

The hawksbill turtle. Participants arrange themselves in a long line, or chain, firmly clasping each others' waists. They symbolize in this manner the sexual act of the hawksbill turtle. This line belongs to one singer who says in his song that his turtles are performing their sexual act as they are in heat. Another band is also headed by its singer. Their role consists in trying to separate the turtles, by tugging, each one separately, at the chain made by the turtles. The turtle that is separated from its team is taken over as a trophy by the other team, but if this group is unable to pull them away it loses the match. The activity lasts until all the turtles of the chain have been separated from their team or until the opposite band that is attempting to do this declares itself beaten.

526 The kid. This game is played on a cleared field. A group
535 of Indians holding each others' hands form a circle, making be-
831 lieve it is a corral in which female goats are kept at night. Out-
746 side the corral are the male goats represented by other Indians who, in full view of the animals enclosed, march round the corral and make successive attempts to enter. The Indians who represent the fence fend them off but finally one or two males are able to force their way in. Once inside, they imitate and copy all the attitudes of the male when aroused; they chase the females, pursue and smell them, and end by simulating the sexual act. At

[129 cont.]

526 this moment the owner of the goats arrives to look over his flock,
535 and he states in his song that none of his animals are missing,
796 they are fat because pasture is fresh and abundant, and he an-
831 nounces that he is about to mark them. He starts by taking out
[420] each female goat one by one and pretends to cut its ear, which is the way to mark such animals. He keeps up his song, referring to what he is doing. "I have many goats and now I shall lack neither meat nor milk; I am rich...."

e) We would add to the above the fact that Indian girls of
[554] the wealthy class do not take part in these gatherings, or they
796 do so on very rare occasions, as their prestige [130] would
786 diminish seriously in consequence of the opinion held of the fiesta that only those girls go to it who want to get a husband readily or to satisfy their sexual urges. Besides, it is the obligation of each man to flirt with or treat with familiarity the girl who becomes his partner in the dance, and her obligation is to supply him during the dance with roasted corn, bread, meat, chicha, etc.

Summarizing up to this point, we can state that the Dance of the Kid is a festival in which the Guajiro Indians seek to propitiate the rains at the same time that it celebrates their arrival and fecundity: fecundity in fruits; fecundity in animals, as dramatized in the ceremonies just described; and fecundity among men, in human beings, who are free from the restrictions which are imposed on them by the community in ordinary daily life to maintain social order.

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536 Theatrical representations. "Drama is particularly difficult to classify because so often it gets mixed up with religion.... On the other hand, dramatic scenes can be executed for collective entertainment or as farces with no special pretentions, as for example in a Tahitian pantomime which represents the theft of a basket of food from a sleeping servant; although it can occur, on occasion, that these simple and uncertain experiments develop into real dramas." (65)

65. Lowie. Antropología Cultural [Cultural Anthropology], XI, 194-195.

526 796 [132 cont.]
men and animals, or men alone, as in the description of a
putchi, or interclan war. This demonstration of skill and ability
● 535 796 in their plays is shown very clearly in the chicha-maya dance,
which will be fully detailed in the descriptive aspect of Guajiro
culture shortly to be published. This dance, in general terms,
is restricted to a veritable struggle between the man and the
woman who are partners, a struggle in which the woman en-
deavors to overthrow the man.

536 796 However, in the plays of a mythical nature the scene is
more limited and always ends in the same way. It is static in
the sense that its conclusion cannot be changed by the ability
of the players but is determined by a prearranged plot, rigidly
imposed for each occasion it is played. This we believe is
what gives it its true mythical nature. It is part of the oral tradi-
tion of the group, and for this reason it cannot be subject to
variations determined by the moment.

Having made these general statemenn about their theatri-
cal plays, or dramas, we will now describe them one by one,
showing first those that refer to social life, then those relative to
the mythical aspect, and finally those in which animals only,
or animals with men, appear.

1. Visit between Upper and Lower La Guajira. Two groups
take part in this play, each composed of men and women. The
first represents Upper La Guajira, the other, Lower La Guajira.
The groups line up in two parallel rows [133] spaced a cuadra
apart. The componenns of each group hold each other round the
waist, face to face, with a small space between them. The
536 singer who heads the team of Indians that represents Upper La
539 Guajira begins by addressing the visitors from Lower Guajira,
796 "Amsh pif (Have you arrived?)." "Aaa (Yes)," replies the other.
"Kasíchicki (What's new?)," asks the first singer. "Nohots
(Nothing new)," replies his opposite number from the south coun-
try. Again he of the north asks, "How goes the winter? Have the
expected rains finally arrived?" The other answers, "we are well
content. The rains have come to our crops are in good condition.
We have collected food in plenty, and there is still a quantity
left to collect. The pastures, like the trees, are green again;
our herds have water to satisfy their thirst in the wells and water

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

great ring and several of them were wiping their mouths in evident satisfaction—presumably having just been regaled with some drink.

The drum thundered a long time in vain before a young Indian stepped into the ring, removed his cloak and sandals and began to walk round in a circle—a challenge to the members of the fair sex.

Almost at once a girl appeared in the ring; removed her sandals and held her tunic spread wide with her hands. The two then began dancing: he in front, she a few yards behind. Suddenly the man gave a shout and the tempo increased. Turning swiftly the girl came sweeping down towards the man who danced away, moving backwards. She must try to get close enough to tramp on his feet and make him fall, but she must not barge him. If she managed to make her partner fall, there was great jubilation, and then a new couple took the stage. Otherwise, the girl would probably challenge her partner to a few more turns, while he answered contemptuously:

'Fetch your little sister.' (Inferring that she would manage better.)

In this way a dance continues without interruption, couple following couple. It could go on for weeks.

The well-bred Indian considers the chichamaya the only suitable dance. The monks also approved of it, since it was perfectly decent, the two dancers remaining apart the whole time. The dance is not genuinely Indian, containing both Spanish and African features, but even in its present form it retains its religious-magical significance and is part of the ritual used in certain family ceremonies and on other important occasions.

The dance of the kid is a pure folk dance. It is really a whole complex of games, dances and typical fertility rites. The good families do not allow their daughters to attend them. The law's strict sexual prohibition does not apply to those taking part in the dance of the kid, who enjoy an otherwise forbidden erotic licence. This is not approved of by the well-to-do, who still hold by the rule that a bride should be a virgin, since it can have an effect on the bride-price.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

price. Thus the well-to-do send slaves or servants to the dances.

These dances also have a practical significance. They take place at the start of the rains when vegetation shoots up and help is needed in keeping weeds under. Those taking part in the dance must weed their host's ground during the day, as a return for their food and the dancing at night. They have to do something during the feast which lasts for weeks at a time. Naturally holding such a dance-feast is a costly business, but as a compensation the giver has work done for him. Therefore the feast moves from rancho to rancho, while there is work to be done.

Actually all the dancers ought to be at home working during this time, for all plantations will become overgrown if they are neglected, but the young people are tempted by the feast, the dancing and love-making, and the opportunity to get free of the bonds of strict convention for a time. The fertility of the crops is promoted by different erotic performances, although the Indians no longer seem fully aware that this is their significance. These are typical magical fertility rites.

The actual dance of the kid is performed in different ways. Sometimes the couples are in lines one behind the other, the men holding the girl in front round the waist. First they all dance forwards, and then they turn. At each turn they change partners, the men singing: 'Lend me your partner for my travelling companion.' Another way of performing the dance is very like a long-dance in Sweden. Each group of dancers is led by a singer who always improvises his song, so that the words are always new.

The dance begins at sunset and continues for several hours, after which the dancers all make off into the darkness, two by two, and spend the night with each other. Usually a couple will stick together throughout the feast. Intercourse must be of the girl's own free will, but involves the man in no obligations, neither compensation for her lost virginity nor damages if a child should result. This is recognised by the girl's family, because it is a result of the freedom allowed during the dance of the kid. If, after the feast, a man wishes

?:Bolladar T-S (1926, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

During this period of confinement the novice is always having to chew tobacco, and it is during periods of nicotine-intoxication that the spirits appear to him. After his first examination the novice is given a diadem and a rattle, *maraca*, as symbols of his new dignity.

The novice's family must now arrange a dance and sacrifice sheep or goats. A *chichamaya* is performed during one or two days and nights. Those taking part are ceremonially painted. The animals are slaughtered and offered to the spirits who partake of them during the night. After that the dancers can eat. No one, however, may touch the meat till it has lain, wrapped in leaves, at the spirits' disposition and thereafter been dedicated by the piache, who spits tobacco juice upon it and pronounces spells over it.

The apprenticeship, of course, is not over, and again the novice is shut away from the world. Now comes a period of instruction in the art of chewing tobacco, that is to say, how, where and when that is to be done and what are correct ways to summon spirits, cure illness, make rain, protect cattle, halt epidemics and much more that the medicine man may be called upon to do. The instructing piache transfers his spirit to the apprentice, and exhorts the former not to start by trying to cure adults, but to practise on children. The spirit also forbids erotic association.

After a few months the apprentice will be ready to qualify. Large quantities of maize beer are then prepared and invitations sent out.

While the guests are drinking and dancing the novice sits, still isolated, practising. The spirit comes and orders him or her to send for a beast of certain colour and with specific markings, which is to be sacrificed to the spirit. When that has been done, and it must be done, the spirit demands some necklaces of gold beads—any number up to ten—which have to be hung up in the novice's hut. As soon as these have been collected with the help of relatives—often as a loan—the spirit pronounces himself satisfied and informs them that the novice's apprenticeship is over. He or she can now begin to practise. But, the spirit adds, there

G:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

The Goajiro believe that after death the deceased in ethereal form 775
wander about the country, their favorite meeting place being in the vicinity of Bahía Honda in the extreme north of the peninsula. There is some evidence that the Indians look forward to a happier existence after death. From this belief in the afterlife stems the practice of mutilating the body of a slain enemy, for once his body is broken and scattered it is not possible to reassemble his soul, and the slayer is protected from a vengeance-seeking spirit.

The dead are highly respected or feared; consequently, it is a serious 769
offense to mention a dead person by name. 551

RECREATIONAL AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Games.—The Goajiro have various athletic sports, such as horse racing, 526
wrestling, and archery. Contestants shoot at a skin ball or a fruit tossed into the air or at targets; they are very accurate up to 125 yards. Tournaments are held in which the contestants pair off, the victor of each round winning an arrow and continuing to compete.

Feasts and dances.—The Goajiro are fond of feasts and hold them 574
whenever opportunity offers—at funerals, when they have received their 736
pay for loading salt, at baptisms, or when a person completes his training as a medicine man. Wilhelm (1937) describes a festival held on the last-mentioned occasion. For 3 days the big drum was sounded by relays of players, spreading the news. The dance, practiced beforehand, took place in a circle some 25 feet (7.5 m.) in diameter around which some 200 Indians gathered. A man, nude except for his waist cloth and head band 582
with ornamental plume, with his face painted red in a crisscross pattern, 535
danced backward from a girl dressed in a voluminous robe and wearing a large red handkerchief on her head. The girl attempted to overtake and head off the man, who retreated before her in a circle with a peculiar double step, almost a hop and a skip. As one pair tired another took its place, the dance continuing indefinitely.

Musical instruments.—Goajiro musical instruments are few. A 534
calabash filled with stones or peas serves as a rattle for dance accompaniment. The clarinet is about 2 feet (0.6 m.) long, made of telescoped (?) sections of reed with a bell consisting of calabash and a vibrating reed in the mouthpiece. It is side blown. The large drum is carved from a hollow section of tree, 15 inches (38 cm.) in diameter and 24 inches (60 cm.) long, and has both ends covered with sheepskin. It is slung from the rafters, a branch, or from the player's neck. Singing among the Goajiro is virtually nonexistent.

Narcotics and stimulants.—To make chicha beer, maize may be mas- 273
ticated by the women and spat into a large earthenware bowl, with water and crude sugar added. After 3 days it is strained and drunk. By another